

Message Text

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SUBJECT: TURKISH-SOVIET RELATIONS

REF: (A) JIDDA 4640 (NOTAL), (B) MOSCOW 14762
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1. REF A INFORMED DEPT OF SAG DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER'S IN-
QUIRY ABOUT TURKISH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT'S VISIT TO MOS-
COW AND REQUESTED GUIDANCE FOR RESPONSE. BY SEPTTEL, DEPT
WILL BE ASKING EMBASSY TO DISCUSS STATE OF TURKISH-SAUDI
RELATIONS. DEPT ALSO REPEATING REF B TO JIDDA.

2. OUR INITIAL REACTION IS THAT ECEVIT JUNE 21-25 TRIP

DID NOT RESULT IN SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN TURKISH-SOVIET RELATIONS. THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT IS ESSENTIALLY A RESTATEMENT OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE 1975 HELSINKI CSCE FINAL ACT, AND IS SIMILAR TO RECENT SOVIET AGREEMENTS WITH FRANCE AND NORWAY, AS WELL AS THE 1972 SOVIET-TURKISH STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES (ON THE OCCASION OF A VISIT BY SOVIET PRESIDENT PODGORNEY TO ANKARA).

3. THE PARTIES RESOLVE IN THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT:

-- TO FORM RELATIONS "ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR (ONE ANOTHER'S) SOVEREIGNTY, EQUALITY, WAY OF LIFE, PUBLIC ORDER AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL

AFFAIRS, MUTUAL SECURITY AND ADVANTAGE,"

-- TO RENOUNCE THE USE OF FORCE AND "THE GRANTING OF THEIR TERRITORY FOR THE PERPETRATION OF AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS AGAINST OTHER STATES" (THIS REPEATS LANGUAGE OF THE 1972 DECLARATION),

-- TO EXPAND A "MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THEIR OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES" (BUT WITHOUT INSTITUTIONALIZING PERIODIC POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS),

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-- TO ATTACH SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE TOTALITY OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE EQUALITY OF ALL ITS PRINCIPLES (PERHAPS REFLECTING SOVIET CONCERN OVER WESTERN EMPHASIS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISION OF "BASKET THREE."), AND

-- TO PRESS FOR "A FURTHER DEEPENING OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE."

THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT ALSO ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE PROVISIONS DO NOT AFFECT THE RIGHTS OR OBLIGATIONS RESULTING FROM MEMBERSHIP OF THE TWO SIDES IN DIFFERENT ALLIANCES.

4. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE LISTS AGREEMENTS SIGNED OR TO BE SIGNED ON: DEMARCATION OF THE BLACK SEA CONTINENTAL SHELF, THE BLACK SEA FIR, THE PREPARATION OF A LONG TERM PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC RELATIONS, CONTINUATION OF SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO LONG TERM PROJECTS, A TWO-YEAR CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE PROTOCOL, AND A THREE-YEAR BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT INCLUDING, ACCORDING TO ECEVIT, SOVIET SALE OF 3 MILLION METRIC TONS OF CRUDE OIL ANNUALLY IN 1979-81 (THIS WOULD REPRESENT SOME 15-20 PERCENT OF TURKEY'S ANNUAL CONSUMPTION.)

5. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO NOTES AN EXCHANGE OF INVITATIONS FOR VISITS BY TURKISH PRESIDENT KORUTURK AND PRIME MINISTER KOSYGIN. ON CYPRUS, THE FORMULATION, SUPPORTING "CONSTRUCTIVE TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES" SEEMS TO FAVOR THE TURKISH POSITION AS OPPOSED TO THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST, THE COMMUNIQUE NOTED AN IDENTITY OF VIEWS REGARDING THE NEED OF WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM ALL ARAB LANDS OCCUPIED IN 1967, AND RECOGNITION OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE THEMSELVES, INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO CREATE THEIR OWN STATE." THE PARTIES ALSO REGISTERED AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO "PRESERVING INDEPENDENCE AND ENSURING SECURITY OF ALL STATES OF

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THE AREA." ON AFRICA, THE TWO SIDES "EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO ACHIEVE SOLUTIONS TO EXISTING PROBLEMS BY AFRICANS ALONE, WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE."

6. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT, ECEVIT CHARACTERIZED TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AS FRANK AND CONSISTENT. BECAUSE OF THIS "FRANKNESS AND CONSISTENCY" THE SOVIET UNION HAD REALISTICALLY ASSESSED THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S "CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND ITS SINCERITY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION." ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION HAD PROPOSED MILITARY AID TO TURKEY, ECEVIT REPLIED, "THE SOVIET LEADERS HAVE ACTED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE CLOSE FRIENDS BUT MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT ALLIANCES AND SO THEY DID NOT PROPOSE TO EXTEND MILITARY AID....WE MADE NO SUCH REQUESTS EITHER."

7. THE SPECIFIC RESULTS OF THE ECEVIT VISIT DO NOT APPEAR TO REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURES IN TURKISH-SOVIET RELATIONS. THE EXTENT OF FUTURE COOPERATION, AND FUTURE SOVIET ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WILL DEPEND MORE ON THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS THAN ON THE AGREEMENTS PER SE. IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW REALISTIC THE THREE-YEAR TRADE AGREEMENT IS. IT CALLS FOR BILATERAL CLEARING, WITH ANY GAP, AFTER THE THREE YEARS, BEING COVERED BY HARD CURRENCY. SINCE THE GAP, IF THE USSR IS WILLING TO PROVIDE THE OIL, FERTILIZERS AND RAW MATERIALS ENVISIONED IN THE AGREEMENT, WILL CERTAINLY BE A TURKISH DEFICIT, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE PROSPECTS FOR RAPIDLY INCREASED TURKISH EXPORTS ARE POOR, THE HARD CURRENCY PROVISION MAY RESULT IN FUTURE TURKISH INDEBTEDNESS TO THE USSR.

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8. WHILE ECEVIT WANTED THE VISIT TO BE A SUCCESS AND WANTS TO IMPROVE THE TONE IN TURKISH RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, THE TIMING WAS DELICATE SINCE THE VISIT OCCURRED WHILE CONGRESS IS CONSIDERING REPEAL OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. ECEVIT PULLED IT OFF WITH FINESSE BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS THE LONG RUN IMPORTANCE OF THE VISIT AS FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKISH-US AND TURKISH-NATO RELATIONS (TURKEY HAS INDICATED IT SEES ITSELF AS CARRYING AN UNFAIR SHARE OF THE NATO BURDEN) WILL HAVE A MAJOR BEARING ON DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-TURKISH RELATIONS. VANCE

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